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A SHORT HISTORY OF THAT PARLIAMENT WHICH

Committed Sir ROBERT WALPOLE to the TOWER, expelled him the HOUSE OF COMMONS, and APPROVED of the Infamous Peace of UTRECHT.

Written by Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, afterwards Earl of ORFORD.

Venalus curia patrum!

LONDON:

Printed for J. Almon, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly; and J. Williams, next the Mitre Tavern, Fleet-Street.

MDCCLXIII.

Price One Shilling and Sixpence.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN the reader is informed that the following tract was written by the late earl of Orford, who faithfully ſerved the crown five and twenty years, he will naturally expect ſomething above the common level of publications. It is preſumed he will not be diſappointed. For, notwithſtanding Mr. Walpole was expelled the houſe of commons when he wrote this piece, (which was in the year 1713, when he was only Robert Walpole eſq; and lay under the diſgrace of a Tory miniſtry, who were afterwards, as they moſt juſtly deſerved, impeached of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors, having both betrayed their country, and impoſed the moſt INFAMOUS FALLACIES on their ſovereign) yet whoever conſiders his ſtation in life, his connections, and his unqueſtionable abilities, will readily allow, he could not ſtand in need of the *very beſt* information; conſequently whatever *he* penned muſt be worthy the at-

tention of the public. Therefore although he was *not in the houſe*, during ſome part of the ever-memorable period he treats of, yet it cannot convey even the leaſt grounds for ſuſpicion, that he was ignorant of what paſſed there. On the contrary, if he had not been expelled the houſe of commons, it is more than probable this piece would not have been written; therefore it may reaſonably be preſumed, that when he determined upon it, he furniſhed himſelf with the moſt authentic information, which none will doubt he could very readily obtain. Indeed the piece ſpeaks for itſelf; the reader will find that it contains no ſmall number of facts, relative to the conduct of a *packed* parliament, which committed him to the Tower, expelled him the houſe of commons, and APPROVED of the *infamous* peace of Utrecht.

5 0059

TO

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

LORD * * * * * * *.

My LORD,

WHEN a man reſolves to turn author, he immediately looks out for ſome great man, under whoſe protection, he hopes his works may come into the world better recommended; and though private intereſt

tereſt has generally a great influence in the choice of patrons, I was reſolv'd upon this occaſion, without any other regard, to fix upon a perſon, whom all the world ſhou'd agree to have the beſt right and title to this dedication: and here it was impoſſible to be long at a loſs; were I to celebrate the Actions of Blenheim, Ramilies, and Oudenard, to whom cou'd I think of inſcribing ſuch an undertaking, but to the great general who was known to command on thoſe glorious days, and without naming his name, every body wou'd agree to whom alone the honour was due; in commemorating the three laſt winter campaigns in parliament,

which

which though not expoſed to much danger, muſt be allow'd to require ſome conduct and Generalſhip, at whoſe feet cou'd I think of laying this treatiſe, but at your lordſhip's, and to mention your name, wou'd be to ſuppoſe that the fame and reputation which you have acquir'd by retrieving the affairs of the French king, was not as well known to all the world as the miſtaken glory of the duke of Marlborough in diſtreſſing him; your troops, it muſt be confeſſed, were good, ready at the word of command, to go upon any attack, reſolute and determin'd to go thro' upon all adventures; but yet as the glory of conducting them is entirely

tirely due to your lordſhip, I beg leave to lay before you this ſhort treatiſe, which I have undertaken, not out of any affection to ſcribling, much leſs with hopes of any reward from your lordſhip. I will therefore neither prefix your name, nor ſubſcribe my own, truſting that the world will eaſily know the one, and hardly gueſs at the other.

In writing this ſhort hiſtory, I have endeavour'd to ſtate all the facts fairly, and in their true light, that the whole world may be judge of the Benefits they received from the preſent parliament, and that all England may ſee, what they have done *for the quiet of theſe nations and the univerſal*

verſal good, and that the freeholders may at the next election, if they think fit, make choice of ſuch men, as are reſolv'd *to act upon the ſame principles, with the ſame prudence and vigour*, and under the ſame, I mean your lordſhip's, auſpicious influence.

No doubt, my lord, the Expence of management has been great, but had one ſhort rule been obſerv'd, and had the members receiv'd no more, than they truly deſerv'd from their country, I am of opinion, the commons might have been paid, as they are ſaid to have paid the nations debts, without one farthing charge to the people.

Far be it from me to detract from

from the honour of that noble aſſembly; but if it were no offence to your lordſhip's great modeſty, I wou'd take upon me to ſay, they could never have *perform'd ſo many remarkable ſervices*, had they not firmly adher'd to your lordſhip, and their monoſyllables.

To theſe therefore, and your lordſhip, the honour is due of all that the following ſheets contain; To your lordſhip's great truth and ſincerity, is owing the preſent indefeaſible ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, and the perfect friendſhip between her majeſty and that illuſtrious Houſe. To your lordſhip's zeal, for the

eſtabliſh'd

eſtabliſh'd religion, and averſion to fanaticiſm, is owing the ſafety of our church; To the love of your country, and your deep ſkill in foreign affairs, is owing the glory of the peace, and the ballance of power in Europe; To your great wiſdom we owe the extention of our trade; and to your vigilance, the demolition of Dunkirk; in ſhort, to your lordſhip's dexterity and munificence, we owe what was done in the one houſe, and to your eloquence, perſpicuity, and *twelve peers*, whatever was done in the other.

Thus, my lord, the merit of all that has of late been tranſacted, may be juſtly attributed

to your lordſhip; There are ſome, very few I hope, who may deny your lordſhip theſe attributes, and fewer yet, who will be unwilling they ſhou'd meet with their juſt reward,

I am, &c.

☞ This dedication was to the earl of Oxford, who was afterwards impeached of high treaſon.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT,

IT has been uſual, at the end of former parliaments, to give the world ſome account or hiſtory of their proceedings; and as this parliament may be truly ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed themſelves from all that ever went before them; I think it but a piece of juſtice due to them, to thoſe that choſe them, and to thoſe who are ſoon to proceed to a new election, to give a ſhort ſketch of their moſt extraordinary tranſactions; which, I doubt not, will preſerve the memory of this parliament to poſterity.

Former parliaments have reckon'd it their chief honour and glory, to have faithfully diſcharg'd the part of patriots, and with all due regard to the prerogative, thought it the principal duty of the repreſentative of the people, to watch over, and ſecure the rights, privileges, liberties, and properties of the ſubject; what care or concern of this kind has been ſeen in this parliament, I need not ſay: they have prided themſelves in the titles of *dutiful and loyal*, a character that no future parliament will ever want, that will be ready always to comply with, and ſupport the projects of an enterprizing miniſtry: but let the electors conſider, whether ſuch qualifications are fitter for a member of parliament of Great Britain, or the parliament of Paris.

At the time this parliament was choſen, all thinking men were under the greateſt apprehenſions of the dreadful conſequences that muſt attend ſuch a ſudden change of affairs as was then ſeen, and carried on with ſo much fury.

The former meaſures moſt viſibly tended to nothing, but confirming a noble alliance, form'd to reduce the exorbitant power of France, to reſcue Spain and the Indies from the Houſe of Bourbon, and thereby to ſettle a true ballance of power in Europe, to ſecure the proteſtant intereſt, and in particular the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain.

Theſe great ends were the chief view of thoſe, that ſerv'd the queen, for the eight firſt years of her reign; and with what ſucceſs they ſerv'd her, their worſt enemies do confeſs.

But

But when a new ſcheme was concerted, the contrary meaſures were immediately to be enter'd upon; the war muſt be ended, the grand alliance diſſolv'd, and to perfect all, peace and a ſtrict friendſhip with France muſt be concluded.

But as theſe doctrines, when they were entirely new, were at firſt ſurprizing and ſhocking to all the nation, to ſurmiſe ſuch events, was call'd *malice* and *faction*; If any ſuch thing cou'd be deſign'd, the parliament, to be ſure, wou'd never come into it, and this was to be our great ſecurity; but how far the fears and apprehenſions of all honeſt men have been juſtified by the event, is now no longer a queſtion; and as without the concurrence of a parliament, it was impoſſible to have plung'd the nation into ſuch inextricable difficulties, I will give you a ſhort view, what

what a ſhare the parliament has had in this wonderful undertaking, and how far they have contributed to the ruin of their country.

I have too much charity to believe, that all, who have been conſenting to theſe pernicious meaſures, equally deſign'd the miſchiefs that have come upon us; Thoſe, who have had the management of this great machine, and ſeem indeed to underſtand nothing, but the managing of parties, and making a proper uſe of the weakneſs, and corruption of mankind, knew this deſperate game was not to be play'd, but by the utmoſt diſſimulation, and by deceiving, and impoſing upon great numbers of well-meaning men: ſpecious pretences have never been wanting to gild the bitter pill, and the nation by degrees has been drawn into theſe extremes: but as gentlemens eyes

begin to be open'd, they ſurely will reſent ſuch intollerable treatment, and when they find, that what they were told of other people, was utterly falſe; and that all the great advantages, they were made to hope for, from this new ſcheme, end in nothing, or what is worſe, in the ruin of their country; they will begin to think, before it's too late, what muſt be the unavoidable conſequence, if they perſiſt to go blindly on, and follow the dictates of thoſe, who have thus groſly deluded them.

As there was nothing, which queen, lords and commons in all former parliaments, and the whole nation had expreſs'd a greater zeal and concern for, than ſecuring *Spain and the Weſt-Indies to the Houſe of* Auſtria, it had been too groſs, at the firſt opening of this parliament, to have diſcover'd the deſign of giving them entirely into the hands of France;

France; The commons therefore are taught to declare, for * *a vigorous proſecution of the war in all its parts, and eſpecially in* Spain, for it was not yet time to take off the maſk and confeſs that the war was to be ended, let the conſequence be what it would.

Soon after an account comes of an action in Spain, much to the diſadvantage of king Charles, which her majeſty communicates to the parliament. The commons, ſtill zealous for the war in Spain, think it neceſſary for her majeſty to give directions ‡ *for ſending and procuring more troops to repair this loſs, and not diſcourag'd by misfortunes, promiſe to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to enable her majeſty to carry on the juſt and neceſſary war, in which ſhe was engag'd; and to ſupport her in ſuch meaſures, as on this*

* Commons Addreſs, *Nov.* 30. 1710.

‡ Commons Addreſs, *Jan.* 3. 1710.

occaſion ſhou'd be thought proper to retrieve the loſs in Spain. So the war at that time it ſeems was *juſt and neceſſary*, and Spain at any rate was then thought worth the ſaving: and yet, methinks, if we had been very much in earneſt, even at that time, we ſhould have heard of forces ſent from hence, or foreigners hir'd to repair this loſs; but as the parliament had never any curioſity to enquire how far this addreſs had been comply'd with, I am afraid, king Charles, from that hour, never found any effect of this great zeal for his ſervice.

However, public declarations in his favour are ſtill thought neceſſary. Upon the death of the Emperor, to prevent the ill conſequence thereof, * *the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria are to be*

* Commons Addreſs, *April* 20. 1711

be ſupported, and the utmoſt endeavours are to be us'd, to promote the election of the king of Spain to the empire. Theſe endeavours are us'd, and prove ſucceſsful; but who would have thought at that time, that the empire was to be purchas'd by king Charles, at ſo dear a rate, as the loſs of the *crown of Spain*; but ſo it has happen'd, and the only argument that has been us'd, for giving Spain to king Philip, has been to preſerve the ballance of power in Europe, which would otherwiſe be in danger from the conjunction of the empire and Spain; but I dare anſwer for the parliament, whatever others might deſign, they did not in the leaſt foreſee this unhappy conſequence: thus we ſee thro' the whole courſe of this firſt ſeſſion, this parliament was zealouſly devoted to the intereſt of king Charles, as king of Spain

Before the next ſeſſion, a project of peace had been ſet on foot, and the world began to ſuſpect, that Spain was now to be given up to the houſe of Bourbon; I muſt do the parliament that juſtice to confeſs, that this, at firſt, gave offence to a great many; they knew not very well, how to reliſh ſuch a direct contradiction to all they had been ſaying, and doing for ſo many years paſt; and with theſe ſentiments, 'tis very well known, that moſt gentlemen came out of the country, to attend the ſecond ſeſſion of parliament; but a few prorogations, ſome town converſation, and a little ſecret conviction, brought this matter to a compoſition; and in caſe nothing was ſaid expreſly of Spain, a general addreſs, * *full of entire confidence, and ſatisfaction in the juſt and honourable peace in view*, which nobody then knew one word of, was agreed to.

This

* Commons Addreſs, *Decemb.* 8. 1711.

This matter then was to be managed a little more tenderly, and the commons were to be taught a new leſſon; in order to this a pamphlet called *The Conduct of the Allies*, &c. was publiſh'd, and a great deal of induſtry uſed to make this the *political creed of the party*, which all the Orthodox friends of France embrac'd very readily; and in this was to be found the whole ſcheme of the proceeding of that ſeſſion: This maſter-piece, fill'd with falſities, and miſrepreſentations, was no ſooner diſpers'd and canvaſs'd in the world, but it produc'd the deſir'd effect, affording arguments for artful and ill-deſigning inſtruments, to prevent and prejudice the minds of weak and deluded people, and firing others, who had no leiſure or opportunity to be better inform'd, with reſentment and indignation againſt all the allies, who, they had been made to believe, had dealt ſo unfaithfully with us; and accordingly

cordingly addreſſes are made in parliament,* *for accounts of the quota's and proportions of her majeſty and her allies during the war, and how the ſame have been obſerved, for all treaties for raiſing and augmenting proportions,* † and whatever elſe was thought neceſſary for carrying on the grand deſign. Theſe addreſſes produce ſtates of the war, prepar'd by thoſe who had procur'd 'em to be call'd for, and who would not, in all probability, deliver any but ſuch as ſerv'd their own purpoſe; upon the day appointed to conſider of the ſtate of the war, eleven queſtions are brought into the houſe ready penn'd, and all number'd, and put into the hands of proper perſons, who mov'd them in a very decent order; and without any more ceremony, the parliament, in an hour's time, judg'd and cenſur'd the late Emperor, the preſent Emperor,

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* *Decemb.* 20, 1711. † *Jan.* 31.

Emperor, the king of Portugal, and the States General; with all whom it had been ſo lately declar'd, that a ſtrict friendſhip and good correſpondence was above all things to be cultivated, to render the peace ſecure and laſting.

This was a handſome ſtep for one day, and a good preparative for what was to follow; but as the giving up Spain was the great ſtumbling block that was to be remov'd, ſomething more was neceſſary to be done; another is appointed for conſidering the ſtate of the war, and there ſeveral reſolutions are made, uſher'd in the ſame manner, ſtating the expence of the war in Spain, which is there repreſented to be moſt extravagant, and to have coſt an immenſe ſum, and ſuch as the nation cou'd not any longer poſſibly endure; by this means the way is pav'd for giving up Spain, and what had been long before agreed to, but conceal'd, was now brought to maturity,

turity, and began publickly to be avow'd and ſupported.

In a ſhort time afterwards the terms of* a general peace are communicated, wherein the giving up Spain and the Indies appears to be almoſt the only thing that was fully agreed to, and concluded; but the loyal commons, full of indignation againſt the allies, and aggrieved with the great burthen of the Spaniſh war, with * *hearts full of gratitude for what has already been obtain'd,* which ſeem'd to be nothing but a French renunciation, *want words to expreſs the ſatisfaction, with which they received the good news* of a propoſal, for giving Spain to king Philip, which was to execute itſelf.

I have neither room, nor time here, to enter into a juſtification of the allies, and

* *June.* 6. 1711.
* Commons Addreſs, *June* 6. 1711.

and to ſhew the falſities and miſrepreſentations of the ſtate of the war in all its parts; The States-General, ſenſible of the injuſtice that was done them, repreſented their caſe in a memorial to the queen, which fully prov'd they were wrongfully charg'd, by the votes and reſolutions of the houſe of commons; This indeed was not to be endur'd, that any body ſhould dare to undeceive the world; The memorial therefore is firſt call'd a * *pretended memorial*, and then voted *a falſe, ſcandalous and malicious libel*; *and Mr.* Buckley, *author of the Daily Courant*, who printed it, taken *into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms*; ſuch conſummate juſtice all have met with who dar'd to ſpeak unſeaſonable truths, either within doors, or without. The States-General, I preſume, eſcap'd an expreſs cenſure, becauſe her majeſty had this ſeſſion declar'd † *their intereſt*

* *April.* 8. 1712 † *Decemb.* 7. 1711.

inſeparable from her own, and the parliament had concur'd with her in it.

The next thing I ſhall remark of this parliament, is, the methods they took to recommend themſelves to the people; this they labour'd, by endeavouring to detect great frauds, and abuſes, and miſapplications of publick money, during the late adminiſtration; their diſcoveries are all ſumm'd up, in a general *repreſentation to the queen*; of which I will venture to aſſert, that all the particulars conſiſt, either of falſities, or miſtakes, or miſrepreſentations; and that wherever the fact is true, the ſame things have been done again by the preſent miniſtry, and either juſtified or not animadverted upon by this parliament.

The great inſtance is, that £. 35,000,000. were not accounted for; but this charge has been ſo fully confuted, and

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it has been ſo evidently prov'd, that of the 35 millions, accounts had been duly render'd for all but 4 millions, which is much ſhort of one year's ſupply, to which the leaſt anſwer has never been given; that 'tis needleſs to enlarge upon that.

But here may be ſeen a true ſpecimen of the candor and juſtice of this houſe of commons. The two uſes that were to be made of this vote, were to raiſe a clamour in the country, and to come at a cenſure of the late lord *treaſurer*, whom they voted* *guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, and high injuſtice to the nation, for not compelling the reſpective accountants to paſs their accounts.* If he was guilty, it muſt be by ſending orders or warrants to the Deputy Remembrancer to ſtay proceſs. This the

April 28th, 1710.

houſe of commons was ſenſible of, and therefore, in order to have the whole matter before them, on Thurſday the 26th of April, 1711, they order'd the Deputy Remembrancer to lay before the houſe, *what orders he had receiv'd for ſtaying or iſſuing proceſs againſt accountants.* On Tueſday following, the 1ſt of May, the Deputy Remembrancer preſents the ſaid orders and warrants; but our worthy patriots, impatient of delay, on Saturday the 28th of April, reſum'd the conſideration of this affair, and proceeded to judge and cenſure, before the only evidence, which could ſet this matter in a true light, was before them, which they themſelves had call'd for, and which prov'd a full juſtification of the perſon, whom they thought it neceſſary firſt to hang, and then to try.

The next article is the debt of the navy: this too has been ſo fully explain'd

plain'd, that it needs no further juſtification: but this gave the parliament occaſion to declare, that * *exceeding the parliamentary proviſions was a new and illegal practice, and a dangerous invaſion of the rights of parliament.* It is almoſt incredible, that immediately after this, the exceedings of the two next years ſhou'd be greater, and leſs juſtifiable, than in any of the former years.

The expence of the navy for the year 1711, exceeded the ſupply granted for that ſervice, above 600,000 l. as appears by the eſtimate of the debt of the navy, at Michaelmas 1711, given into parliament.

The debt of the navy at Chriſtmas laſt, as given into parliament, with the deficiency of laſt year's funds, was above 700,000 l. In both theſe years, the parliament

* Repreſentations, *May* 24th, 1710.

parliament made the ſame proviſion for the navy, as in any year of the war; and the world muſt needs be ſenſible, what great ſervices have been done at ſea theſe laſt two years; but both thoſe accounts of exceedings have been laid before this parliament, and no notice taken of them.

By an account from the exchequer of the *ſums voted and rais'd, and ſums receiv'd and iſſued for the year* 1712, it appears, that the laſt year's expence exceeded the ſupplies, by above half a million; a pretty reaſonable exceeding for ſuch a pacific year; and altho' all theſe accounts lay upon the table, to be peruſed by the members, not one word of notice is taken of them.

The whole expedition to Quebec and Canada was an exceeding, for which no ſupply was ever yet demanded, or granted, in parliament; and tho' ſo much

has

has been ſaid of * *ſupplying proviſions to land forces on board*, the ſame was done in this caſe, and likewiſe for the regiments that were ſent to Spain at the latter end of the year 1710; *for which no deduction has been yet made, out of the pay of the forces, nor any thing reaſſign'd to the victualling*; and what is moſt ſtrange, theſe ſervices were under conſideration, and going on, at the very time that the parliament was cenſuring the late miniſtry, for the very ſame meaſures.

Another method of making this parliament, and their *great directors*, popular, and at the ſame time leaving a heavy imputation upon the late miniſtry, was * calling for an *account of all the publick debts*, which were ſtated to be more than *nine millions*, and *diſcharging*

* *Ditto* Repreſentation.
* *Dec.* 7th. 1710.

ging them without any further charge to the people; that the debt, at *Michaelmas*, 1710, was under ſeven millions, is too notorious, to be diſputed; that it was ſwell'd to above nine millions, by near three millions being granted, in aid of the ſupplies of that year, and computed into the groſs ſum, from the nature of the project, is as well known: but be the debt what they pleaſe; to ſay it is paid off, and without any charge to the people, is beyond my apprehenſion

The debt was due in the ſeveral offices, and ſecur'd to the creditors, by national credit, on proper debentures, bills and certificates, that carry'd an intereſt of 6*l.* per. cent. How is this debt now diſcharg'd? By being transfer'd to the General Mortgage, which is now made a ſecurity for paying the ſame intereſt as before; if a man owes a thouſand pounds upon his bond, or any other perſonal

perſonal ſecurity, and afterwards mortgages his eſtate for better ſecuring the principal, and intereſt; will any man ſay, that by this means he has paid off or diſcharg'd his debt? or is he not in truth as much in debt as before? but if this project comes to be throughly underſtood, it will ſtill appear in a very different light, from what the authors of it labour to repreſent it; the funds of the general mortgage were before engag'd to the year 1716; and therefore could not, till that time, be apply'd towards paying the intereſt of the South Sea Stock; The annual intereſt thereof, is above 570,000*l.* which muſt till then be paid out of the ſupplies granted for the ſervice of each current year, as it has hitherto been done, and by the votes of this ſeſſions we ſee 540,000*l.* granted expreſly for this ſervice which is more than 12d. in the pound of the land tax, or the whole neat produce of the malt

tax, applied to pay the intereſt of a debt, which is ſaid to be paid off, without laying any burthen upon the people; beſides, if the people were not to be yearly tax'd for this intereſt; who that has any regard for poſterity, will ſay, that granting ſuch a conſiderable fund in perpetuity, which wou'd otherwiſe, in three years, have been at liberty, for any future neceſſities of the public; is not laying a heavy burthen upon the people?

Thus we ſee how the public debts have been paid by this parliament. In the ſame manner, do they they talk of *reſtoring credit*; we all know, at what time, and to what a degree, the ſtocks ſunk at once, that nothing ſince, not even peace itſelf, has been able to raiſe them to their former value; and I am at a loſs to gueſs what they mean, who talk of *reſtoring credit*; unleſs it was by making

making all *Exchequer Bills, Specie Bills*; there was indeed a very great diſcount upon *non Specie Bills*, occaſioned by the change of the miniſtry, the parliament granted 45000 *l. per Ann.* for circulating *Exchequer Bills* and making all bills *Specie Bills*; and by that means indeed they did reduce the great diſcount they had brought upon them, and for 45000 *l. per Ann.* did reſtore credit in the ſingle inſtance of *Exchequer Bills*.

And now I am upon money matters, I beg leave to mention one thing, which perhaps has not been conſidered by many; what the ſeveral prorogations of this ſeſſion, from time to time, to the 13th *of April laſt*, did actually coſt the nation; the uſual time for the meeting of the parliament, and even the lateſt, according to the moſt modern cuſtom, hath been before Chriſtmas; I preſume, it will not be denied me, but before that time, this laſt year, after the repeated

ceſſation of arms both by land and ſea, and after the *duke of Ormond's* orders to withdraw from the army and leave the allies to the mercy of *France*, all things were ſo throughly agreed betwixt *England and France*, that the peace was in effect concluded betwixt us, or at leaſt that we were entirely ſatisfied, that there could be no further danger of any war betwixt the two nations, the obſtructions, and delays to ſigning the peace, ariſing only from the obſtinacy of ſome of the allies, and a reſtleſs faction at home; if this be true, and the parliament had been ſuffered to meet, the expence might from that time have been reduced, and the ſame force that has been judged neceſſary for our ſecurity, both by ſea and land, for the laſt ſix *months of this year*, had been equally ſufficient for the *firſt ſix months*, and no body will pretend to ſhew me one reaſon to the contrary: If ſo, by comparing

ring the proviſion, that the parliament has made for the *firſt ſix months of this year*, with the proviſion that is made for *the laſt ſix months*, we ſhall ſoon ſee what might have been ſaved to the nation, if the parliament had been permitted to ſit at the uſual time.

(*a*) *The expence of* 30000 *men for Sea ſervice, for ſix months, at the uſual allowance of above* 2000000 *l. per Ann. for* 40000 *men, will amount to about*	750000	00	00
(*b*) *There was granted for defraying the charge of the land forces in her majeſty's ſervice, for the firſt ſix months,*	636888	14	10
Total charge of the 1ſt Half Year,	1386888	14	10
a The expence of 10000 men for ſea ſervice for ſix months, at the ſame allowance, will amount to about	250000	00	00
(*b*) There was granted for land forces, *&c.* for the laſt ſix months of this year,	270073	10	10
Total expence of the 2d half year,	520073	10	10
The difference is	866815	04	00

This

a Voted *April* 21, 1713. *b* Voted *May* 9, 1713.
a Voted *Ap.* 21. 1713 *b* Voted *Mar.* 10th. 1713.

This proves to a demonſtration, what the late prorogations did coſt the nation, a ſum almoſt equal to the neat produce of this year's land tax; ſuch frequent prorogations, and ſuch unneceſſary charges upon the people, might have created ſome uneaſineſs in a leſs *loyal houſe of commons*; but this *dutiful parliament* was very well ſatisfied, and readily made good all the extraordinary expences that had been made, without any authority, or conſent of parliament.

Before I leave this topic, let me make one general obſervation; That this houſe of commons, who thought the burthen of the taxes intollerable; and that the deplorable circumſtances of the nation made almoſt any peace deſirable; rais'd and levy'd more money upon the ſubject in two years, in which nothing at all has been done, than was rais'd in any two of the moſt

glorious

glorious and ſucceſful years of the war; ſuch ſums, as, if they had been apply'd to a vigorous proſecution of the war, without ſuch melancholy and reproachful interruptions as we have ſeen, had procur'd us indeed, *a ſafe, laſting and honourable peace.*

But the gentlemen, I am afraid, wou'd take it ill if I ſhou'd paſs over in ſilence the perſons they thought worth their notice, and upon whom they beſtow'd ſuch particular marks of their favour.

The duke of Marlborough had beaten France too often, ever to be forgiven; it was neceſſary he ſhou'd be diſgrac'd, or the ſcheme could not go on; he was too conſiderable to be dropp'd quietly; but becauſe his public ſervices to his country could not be call'd in queſtion, the known and uſual per-

quiſites

quiſites of the general are voted *public money, and to be accounted for.*

And that it might be thought, that this proſecution of the duke of Marlborough did not proceed entirely from party malice, they vote, that the *two and a half per cent.* which had been deducted from the pay of the foreigners,* *ſhou'd be continued for the year* 1712, *and apply'd for the ſervice of the war.* This had an appearance of ſaving ſome money for the public, but what was really ſav'd, we ſhall ſoon ſee; A new general is appointed, very different from the laſt; A general as the Examiner ſays, *that knew how to obey, as well as to command,* I believe he did; but by the clamour that has been made in the world of the vaſt incomes and ſalaries of the duke of Marlborough, during the time he ſerv'd, nobody ſhou'd

* March 1ſt. 1710

wou'd have imagin'd, that the new general muſt have had greater appointments and allowances from the public, than the duke of Marlborough ever had; but 5000 l. is immediately paid him for his equipage, which the other never had; and an allowance of 600l. *per menſem* for his table, which the duke of Marlborough never aſk'd or thought of, is directed by warrant out of the moneys granted for the ſervice of the war. I believe when this is computed and added to the 5000l. all that was deducted laſt year for the *two and half per cent. from the* foreigners, will fall ſhort of making it good to the public; the difference then is, the foreigners, by treaty gave it to the duke of Marlborough for contingencies and ſecret ſervice, the parliament cenſure his accepting it, and what then? Grant it themſelves, or which is the ſame thing, the miniſtry do it for them,

to the new general, and this for equipage, and table money, for as for ſecret ſervice, we all know, there was an end of that, and yet the 100001. granted for that ſervice laſt year was likewiſe iſſu'd to our peaceful general, and if an account was to be made up of all the ſalaries and incomes, which this general received laſt year, from the public, they would as far exceed the allowances of the duke of Marlborough as the actions of one out do the other. I will not take upon me to make up the account, but if any body will give himſelf the trouble to compute what is the income of a *lord lieutenant of Ireland, of colonel of the firſt regiment of foot guards, of a regiment of horſe, of general and commander in chief at* 201. per day, and add theſe to the ſums abovemention'd, I believe a good manager might farm them at 400001. per annum, and be well paid for his trouble. The

The lord Townſhend had made a treaty for ſecuring a *good barrier to the ſtates*, and the *proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover* to theſe kingdoms, theſe were great obſtacles, and ſuch, as the king of France muſt needs inſiſt, ſhould be remov'd; what then could be leſs expected, from ſuch good friends, as we are now become to France, than to declare the man *an enemy to the queen and kingdom*, who had done ſuch diſagreeable things to our beſt ally.

Mr. Walpole had been often very troubleſome in the houſe, talk'd of public accounts, which he pretended to underſtand, and would, upon all occaſions, be defending the late miniſtry, where he thought them clear, and innocent; He muſt therefore *be ſent to the Tower, and expell'd the houſe* to prevent his giving this parliament any

further trouble; and for a charge againſt him, or any body elſe, the *commiſſioners of accounts*, who have by this time ſufficiently convinc'd the world, that they are of no uſe, but to ſully the characters of thoſe, that are out of power, and to ſcreen the iniquities of thoſe that are in, were ready, as ſoon as the word was given, to cook up a complaint, ſufficient for the preſent purpoſe, tho' falſify'd by poſitive evidence upon oath; but in all theſe cenſures, it has ſo happen'd that the perſons concern'd may reckon them as ſo many honours done them.

I muſt not forget the laſt piece of civility, that this courtly houſe of commons paid to the crown. I mean the raiſing 500,000l. to pay the debts of the civil liſt. I will not enter into an account how this debt came to be contracted, 'tis notorious and every officer

of

of the houſhold can teſtify this truth, that their arrears are at leaſt double of what they were at the change of the miniſtry; 'Tis very well known, that there was iſſued in the firſt eight years of her majeſty's reign, out of the civil liſt funds, to the uſe of the war, and other public occaſions, above 500,000l. which very eaſily accounts for the debt incurred in that time. I make no doubt, but there have been large and very extraordinary iſſues made ſince; I do not ſuppoſe for the ſervice of the war; perhaps for obtaining and juſtifying this wonderful peace; tho' methinks, 'tis hard that France ſhould not pay that reckoning; which altho' I can give no account of, I make no doubt but they that were ſo ready to pay the debt had their reaſons for ſo doing, and can in a great meaſure account for the contracting of it; whether they were induced to pay this debt, for the ſhare

they

they have had of it, or what they are to have, towards enabling them to carry their next elections is not material, but 'tis certainly a moſt dangerous precedent, to be mortgaging the funds, that are ſettled for the ſupport of the civil liſts which by degrees may all be ſo far engaged, and granted away, that a *land tax* or a *malt tax* muſt be made at laſt an *hereditary revenue* for ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown.

I muſt not omit the ſingular behaviour of this parliament in relation to the *treaty of commerce*, I do not intend to enter into a diſquiſition of the treaty, and ſhew, how deſtructive it was to the trade of Great Britain, in all its parts, that was ſo well underſtood, by all ſenſible men about this town, and I hope will be ſo thoroughly underſtood, by all the trading parts of the kingdom,

that they will either elect none, that gave the leaſt countenance to ſuch a pernicious bill, or give them ſuch inſtructions, to oppoſe any future attempt of that kind, that there ſhall be no danger of the treaty's being rendered effectual; But what is remarkable, is the conduct of the houſe of commons upon this occaſion, they were zealous for the *treaty of commerce* in every ſtep, and would bear no oppoſition till they came to the queſtion of engroſſing the bill, by that time petitions from all parts of the country began to alarm them, and whether out of a regard to the good of their country, or an apprehenſion of loſing their next elections, I will not determine, but a ſudden turn was taken, and the bill rejected, and here was an end at once of all the wonderful advantages that Great Britain was to reap from this celebrated peace; But rejecting the bill, was not ſo trivial

a matter, it gave too great offence, and ſomething muſt be done to give ſatisfaction for this firſt inſtance of diſloyalty.

The ſame gentlemen therefore, who had been inſtrumental in rejecting the bill, muſt now make an healing addreſs and attone by the loſs of their reputations, for the good ſervice they had dared to do their country; having at the opening of the ſeſſions congratulated the queen upon the concluſion of a peace, which they then knew nothing of;* *they expreſs now their thankfulneſs for the terms and conditions of it*, which they had juſt rejected, as dangerous and pernicious to the kingdom: But they ſay, † *ſo good a foundation of trade was laid, as might be farther improved, to the advantage of the kingdom, which*

* Addreſs, *June* 23, 1713. † Ditto

which they desire may be perfected, and so explained, as fully to answer her majesty's good intentions for the good and welfare of her people. What a mockery is here, and plain contradiction to all common sense? But how it was understood at court, is plain by the queen's answer, * she thanks them, *for fully expressing their approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and promises them* not to improve, perfect, or explain; but to *secure to them the benefits and advantages, which with great difficulty, had been obtained for her subjects; and for this most gracious answer,* the house of commons *return their most humble thanks*; thereby confessing, they did fully approve the *treaty of commerce,* which they had just rejected, and that all they desired, was to have those same advantages in trade secured to them, which for want of understanding, they had

* Queen's answer to the last Address.

ſo lately miſtaken for great miſchiefs, and unavoidable deſtruction, to all the manufactures of Great Britain; but by theſe ſteps and what was ſaid at the concluſion of this ſeſſion, there is one thing the people of England may be very ſure of; that this ſame *treaty of commerce* neither explained, improved nor perfected, and no other will be laid before the next parliament; and no endeavours wanting to carry it thro' and render it effectual.

Such recantations, as this ſeems to be, are a little new in parliament: and I was at a loſs to find any thing like it, till this parliament furniſhed me with a precedent, in the committee of ways and means, *a duty upon leather* was moved, and preſſed by the court, but rejected as grievous to the people. This was reſented in a very high manner: but a little diſcipline ſoon made amends,

and

and the ſame gentlemen who voted againſt a *duty upon leather*, aſked pardon and obliged the court with their votes for a *duty upon hides and ſkins tann'd taw'd or dreſſed.*

Some ſhort account of the ſecret hiſtory of this *treaty of commerce* may not be improper and may ſerve to enlighten the world concerning it. When it was firſt publiſhed, and objections againſt it aroſe, it was entertained by *our great men* as a thing very indifferent to them, and for which they were no ways concerned; but deſired the bill might take its fate, as it ſhould be judged advantageous, or prejudicial to the nation; when the eighth and ninth articles came to be better conſidered, and it was manifeſt to every body, that the plain ſenſe and meaning of them, could no ways be underſtood, but to the prejudice of Great Britain; theſe were called

factious conſtructions, and ſuch as France never means or deſigned; and upon application of the Eaſt India company, it was promiſed them, that an explanation ſhould be procured from France, in a week's time, entirely to their ſatisfaction. But this explanation was never ſince heard of; there were ſeveral inſtructions given to the committee for clauſes to enact the French king's meaning; but the uneaſineſs ſtill increaſing, and a general diſcontent ariſing, the next expedient was to drop the bill; and this was promiſed in a letter wrote to the ſpeaker for that purpoſe; but France ſtill perſiſting, no explanation can be had, either to eaſe the preſent difficulty; or any hopes given, of ſuch alterations againſt another parliament, as might quiet the minds of the people. What then was to be done? They who ſeemed ſo indifferent at the beginning, can no longer diſguiſe themſelves;

themſelves; new orders are given on a ſudden and the bill muſt be carried thro' with a ſpirit, for France would have it ſo; and ſo little did they doubt of ſucceſs, that the French Ambaſſador had an expreſs ready booted to ſend the good news of paſſing the bill to France; a bonfire piled before Somerſet Houſe gate, and Jones's guns ready loaded to eccho the glad tidings from t'otherſide of the water: and with good reaſon was all this preparation made; for the bill was rejected but by *nine votes*; ſo narrowly did the trade of Great Britain and all its manufactures eſcape the moſt fatal blow that ever was attempted to be given them.

But 'tis not to be wondered at, that ſuch attempts as theſe have been made, and that the good nature of the houſe of commons is ſo much relied upon; There was nothing that the people of

England

England have been better pleaſed with, than the delivering up Dunkirk, and the hopes of its demolition; This ſeems to be expreſly provided for, in the *treaty of peace*; and that it ſhould be done, within five months, after the conditions of peace are concluded and ſigned, but there follows an exception, that the demolition ſhall not be begun, till the equivalent for it is put into the hands of the king of France; This naturally led the houſe of commons to enquire by an addreſs. * *what the equivalent was to be for the demoliſhing* Dunkirk, *or in caſe it was not demoliſhed, what was ſtipulated concerning it*; for 'tis obſervable, that this equivalent is no where mentioned either in the *treaty of peace* betwixt England and France, or France and Holland.

In

* *June 3d*, 1713.

In about * three weeks after, an anſwer comes to this addreſs, *that the equivalent, which was to be given for* Dunkirk, *was already in the hands of the* French king. And is it credible that ſuch an anſwer to this addreſs ſhould prove ſatisfactory? or is any man in England a jot the wiſer, or does he know at all the more, what is this equivalent, or what is to become of Dunkirk? If the equivalent is in the hands of *France*, why are not the works begun to be demoliſhed? The peace was ſigned the laſt of March, *O. S.* The works towards the ſea were to be demoliſhed in two months, thoſe towards the land in three months; the equivalent we are told is in the hands of France, and yet there is not one ſtroke ſtruck now in almoſt four months, in order to the demolition; and at the ſame time the houſe of

* *June* 20th, 1713.

of commons is not only ſatisfied with ſuch an anſwer, but what is more ſtrange, have made a proviſion for the garriſon of Dunkirk till Chriſtmas next, and granted a ſupply of near 40000 *l.* for that purpoſe. After this what can we ſuppoſe too groſs to paſs upon this houſe of commons?

I will conclude with one general remark; that this houſe of commons muſt be confeſſed to be a ſet of very dutiful and loyal gentlemen; who out of principle will go as far in complying with all the demands of a miniſtry, as any that ever went before them, or can ever ſucceed them: but I would not have it thought, that all this was pure loyalty; a little regard to themſelves, and a ſmall ſpice of intereſt, muſt be allowed to have had ſome ſhare in influencing, and procuring all this dutiful and ſubmiſſive behaviour; and I wonder indeed that

thoſe who employed them, and had the benefit of their profeſſed zeal for the prerogative, did not conſult their honours a little more; than ſo openly and barefac'd, at the end of each ſeſſions, to be rewarding them for their good and faithful ſervice It was never known before, that days were ſet a part for rewarding members of parliament with places and employments; he that will look upon the votes of the laſt day of the firſt ſeſſion, will find almoſt nothing done, but new writs ordered in the room of parliament men, who had received their wages for their paſt years ſervice; and to ſuch a pitch were they come at laſt, that at the end of the ſecond ſeſſion, when the queen's ſpeech was made, and the ſeſſion cloſed, to all other intents and purpoſes, both houſes are ordered to adjourn themſelves for eighteen days, as if ſomething extraordinary was ſtill

behind, that might require the ſitting of the parliament; but when the day comes, nothing is done, but a ſecond liſt of loyal members preferred, is produced; and the vacancies of patriots turned courtiers, are by new writs ordered to be filled up; that theſe dutiful members might be ready at the beginning of the next ſeſſion, to ſerve thoſe that had ſo well rewarded them for their paſt ſervices.

This is a very ſhort hiſtory of this memorable parliament; you ſee the picture in miniature, if it were to be drawn at whole length, and to the life, it would ſurpriſe you more; but by this ſample the freeholders of England may judge, by what means this parliament has deſerved to have their memory tranſmitted to poſterity; and will ſurely conſider well of their paſt behaviour,

before

before they chooſe thoſe again, who for the characters of loyal and dutiful have ſacrificed their country to the power of France; which can end in nothing but bringing in the *pretender*, popery, and *ſlavery*.

FINIS.

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